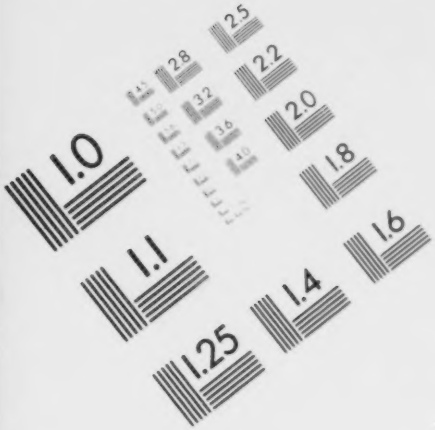

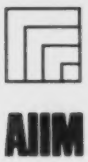

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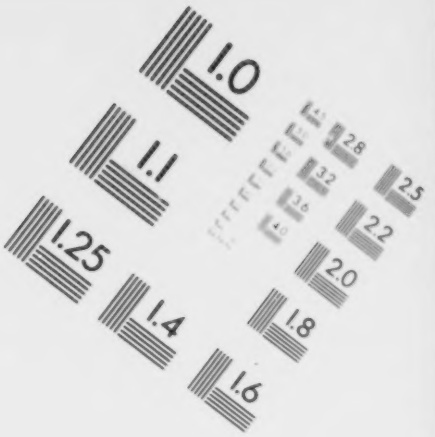

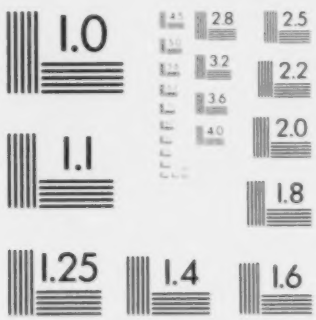

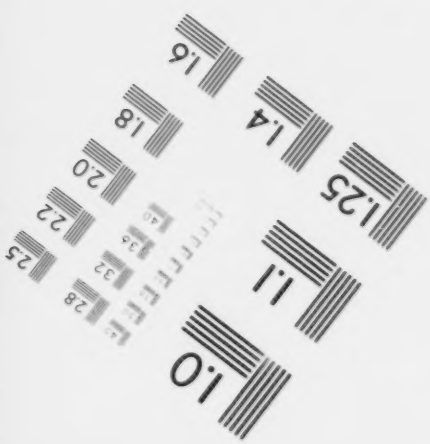

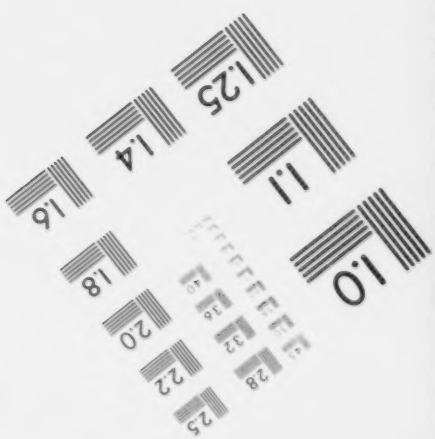

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TITLE	Africans in America: America's Journey through Slavery. Teacher's Guide.
INSTITUTION	WGBH-TV, Boston, MA.
SPONS AGENCY	National Endowment for the Humanities (NFAH), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	1998-10-00
NOTE	37p.; The television series to which this guide applies premiered on October 19-22, 1998 and was rebroadcast during February 1999. Additional sponsors include Bankers Trust, the Fannie Mae Foundation, Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, Stratford Foundation, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.
AVAILABLE FROM	WGBH, 125 Western Avenue, Boston, MA 02134; Tel: 800-255-9424 (Toll Free); Web site: www.wgbh.org. Videotapes of series and this printed teacher's guide $59.95.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Black History; *Blacks; Class Activities; *Educational Television; *History Instruction; Secondary Education; Social Studies; Student Participation; Teaching Guides; *Television Viewing; *United States History; Units of Study
IDENTIFIERS	*African Americans

ABSTRACT

This printed guide for viewing the Public Television series, "Africans in America," first points out that the series, told from multiple perspectives and informed by "leading-edge" scholars, illuminates U.S. history from 1607 to 1861: how Africans and Europeans together built a new nation even as they struggled over the meaning of freedom. Following a section on "using the guide," the guide is divided into separate units that correspond to the video series programs: (1) "The Terrible Transformation, 1607-1750"; (2) "Revolution, 1750-1805"; (3) "Brotherly Love, 1781-1834"; and (4) "Judgment Day, 1831-1861." Each unit consists of two lessons: a general lesson that explores each 90-minute program and a focused lesson that highlights a short program segment and related primary sources. In addition, the guide's "Curriculum Links" identifies topics that will help teachers coordinate the series with standard lesson plans, while the "Notable People" section lists people to watch for in the program. The guide suggests that students can research these historical figures by reading letters and narratives, and pursuing public records. The guide includes information about using primary source documents and the World Wide Web. It also includes a section on general resources (for teachers and students), listing books, Web sites, films, and organizations. An essay by Eric Foner, "Slavery and the Origins of the Civil War," concludes the guide. (BT)

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TEACHER'S GUIDE

Africans in America

AMERICA'S JOURNEY THROUGH SLAVERY

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PREMIERES ON PBS OCTOBER 19-22, 1998

Bankers Trust is proud to be a major national sponsor of WGBH Boston's production of *Africans in America*.

At Bankers Trust we believe that helping to build strong communities is fundamental to economic growth and vibrancy. *Africans in America* provides a unique opportunity for Bankers Trust to further its support of community development while contributing to an evocative and enduring representation of our country's early history from slavery to the eve of the Civil War.

We at Bankers Trust are especially pleased that, through your leadership and interest, *Africans in America* will reach young people in schools across the country — stimulating new discussion and thinking around the core themes of freedom and equality. An understanding of the common history we share as Americans is a strong foundation from which all communities can work together and prosper.

Bankers Trust
Architects of Value

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BROADCAST INFORMATION

Series Premiere: October 19–22, 1998

Rebroadcast (on most PBS stations): February 1999

Broadcast schedules are subject to change. Please check your local listings or contact your local PBS television station (see pages 30–31).

Sojourner Truth

Nat Turner

TAPING RIGHTS

You may tape *Africans in America* and use the videotapes for educational purposes for up to one year after the broadcast.

Our Common History

However much black and white, slave and free seem to be polar opposites, we must see them not only as interdependent, but as having a common story and necessarily sharing the same fate.

Nathan Huggins, historian
Black Odyssey: The African-American Ideal in Slavery

At the heart of our national narrative is an American paradox: a democracy that declared all men equal, while using the enslavement and oppression of one people to provide independence and prosperity for another. The contradiction of slavery in a free society has had profound consequences on the course of American history. Africans and African Americans, enslaved and free, have played a critical role in challenging the nation to re-evaluate, again and again, the meaning of its founding documents and its commitment to freedom. The legacy of slavery continues to shape American life and society today — for all of us.

Yet many people regard the history of African Americans as somehow separate. *Africans in America*, told from multiple perspectives and informed by leading-edge scholarship, illuminates the story of our common history: how Africans and Europeans together built a new nation even as they struggled over the meaning of freedom. Although topics such as the American Revolution or abolition may already be part of standard curricula, by offering a more thorough and comprehensive view of our past, *Africans in America* provides a new way of understanding the history that has shaped our nation and ourselves.

As historian Milton Meltzer has noted, "By conducting a dialogue with our past, we are searching how to go forward."* The series' stories of conflict, challenge, and transformation will help to inform and inspire young people. The voices from our shared past can help us to better articulate current struggles and tensions and thus create a common future.

* Milton Meltzer, *Nonfiction for the Classroom: Milton Meltzer on Writing, History, and Social Responsibility* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1994), 32.

About the Series

In four 90-minute programs, *Africans in America* explores the impact of slavery on Americans — white and black — from the first English settlement in 1607 to the brink of civil war in 1861. (Note: Program titles may change.)

PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

Program One

The Terrible Transformation (1607–1750)

The English colonies bring opportunities for European settlers, including indentured servants, but for Africans — abducted from their homelands — the new land brings hard labor and a system of race-based slavery, enforced and protected by law.

Program Two

Revolution (1750–1805)

This is the story of two American revolutions: the fight for independence from Britain and the struggle of enslaved Africans for freedom. Despite its idealistic rhetoric, the new country refuses to reconcile the fact that it is a nation of liberty built on a foundation of slavery.

Program Three

Brotherly Love (1781–1834)

As free blacks and fugitive slaves seek full participation in American democracy, a new African American leadership of entrepreneurs, preachers, and abolitionists emerges throughout the North and South. The successful revolution in Haiti inspires revolt and rebellion in the South.

Program Four

Judgment Day (1831–1861)

As the country expands west, so does slavery, even as it is challenged as never before by black and white abolitionists. Tensions mount and a polarized nation moves toward civil war.

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Using the Guide

Abolitionist medallion by Josiah Wedgwood, 1787

Each unit consists of two lessons: a general lesson that explores each 90-minute program and a focused lesson that highlights a short program segment and related primary sources. In addition, *Curriculum Links* identifies topics that will help teachers coordinate the series with standard lesson plans. The *Notable People* section lists people to watch for in the program. Through their letters, narratives, and public records, these historical figures can be the focus of further student research. (A wealth of primary sources, as well as a detailed series index, can also be found on the Web site: www.pbs.org/africansinamerica. For advice on using Web sites, see page 21.)

In addition to the resources for both teachers and students, which are included for each unit, you may find the *General Resources* section on pages 22–24 helpful. A brief guide to using primary source documents is also provided (see page 20).

The following themes are central to the series. Each program presents different aspects of these themes within the context of the particular time period of the show. You may want to explore aspects of these questions as you use the programs in the classroom.

• CITIZENSHIP
Who participated in American democracy?

• ECONOMICS
How did economics define American concepts of race, individual rights, and citizenship?

• FREEDOM
What is freedom? How did different people define freedom as America developed?

• LEADERSHIP AND RESISTANCE
How did African Americans and their allies work to abolish slavery?

• IDENTITY
How was an American identity formed? How were Africans and Europeans transformed by the American experience? What does it mean to be an American today?

• RACE AND RACISM
How and why did concepts of race — blackness and whiteness — and of "black racial inferiority" and "white superiority" become institutionalized in American law?

As a general activity before watching the series or a program, you may want to survey students' knowledge of slavery. Ask, *When and why did slavery in the British American colonies begin? What factors made it possible for Europeans to enslave Africans? How did Africans respond to enslavement?* As students watch the program or segment, have them write down new information or facts that support or contradict their answers. Afterward, discuss how students' knowledge or understanding has changed.

As students gain new perspectives from the series, you may want to explore the issue of how and why history has been interpreted — and often distorted — over the years. Have students choose a topic from the series and locate information about it from the following sources: a passage in their textbook, a chapter or section in a book by a historian, a selection from a Web site, and a primary source. Add information students may know from novels, movies, television, etc. (See also Eric Foner's article, pages 26–29.)

Compare and contrast the sources. How are they different? How are they the same? Ask students to analyze how and why various sources present different perspectives. Whose story gets told and why? How does understanding our past influence our ideas and thoughts today?

TEACHING TOOLS

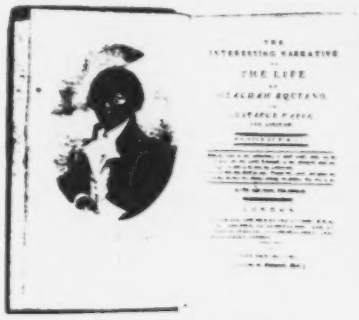
Slavery and the Origins of the Civil War by historian Eric Foner (pages 26–29) provides a useful analysis of how scholarship has shaped and changed our views of slavery and its impact on American society.

The companion book to the series, *Africans in America*, by Charles Johnson, Patricia Smith, and the WGBH Series Research Team (published by Harcourt Brace & Company), features short stories that illuminate people or events mentioned in the programs. These can help engage students at the beginning of a lesson and deepen their appreciation and understanding of the issues.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Terrible Transformation
1607–1750

At the beginning of the 17th century, both rich and poor Britons see the newly established American colonies as the land of opportunity. As changes in England's economy and word of hardships in America stem the flow of white bond servants, English planters bring more enslaved Africans to America to raise their profitable tobacco, sugar, and rice crops and to provide other forms of labor in the North. Gradually, laws are enacted that define legal status by race, ensuring that Africans and their descendants will be slaves. Resistance leads to rebellions in South Carolina and New York. The impact of slavery is felt by everyone — North and South, black and white, the enslaved and the enslaver.



Equiano's "Narrative"

Olaudah Equiano

CURRICULUM LINKS

Carolina Colonies
Colonial Life
Indentured Servants
New York Rebellion
Stono Rebellion

NOTABLE PEOPLE

Olaudah Equiano
Anthony Johnson
Francis Le Jau

Discussion Questions

BEFORE WATCHING

1 On a map of Africa, find Olaudah Equiano's home (present-day Nigeria). Have students brainstorm a list of words that they think describe life in that part of Africa in the 17th century (e.g., family life, religion, economy). Now read "My Early Life in Eboe," the first chapter of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (New York: Bedford Books, 1995). You may want to read it aloud as a whole group or have students work in small groups. As they read, have students write down key words or phrases that describe everyday life in the same categories as above. Compare to the list generated before reading. Have students' knowledge or views changed? How?

2 Have students generate a list of the various groups of people who inhabited the American colonies in 1750. How might race, class, gender, national origin, and other factors influence an individual's or a group's legal and economic status? Ask students to note new information as they watch the program.

The Middle Passage must have been as near as anyone ever comes to hell on earth.

Barry Unsworth, author

AFTER WATCHING

1 Who benefited from the establishment of British colonies in the Americas? What kinds of hardships did the establishment of the colonies create for Europeans, for Africans, and for Native Americans? What opportunities did it create? Revisit and update the list students made above (see *Before Watching*, Question 2).

2 What made the enslavement of Africans in the 17th century different from previous forms of slavery? Discuss ways in which Africans resisted enslavement. Give examples from the program of Africans making alliances with other groups.

3 Create a Venn diagram (interlocking circles) that compares indentured servitude to slavery in the 18th-century British American colonies. Who became servants? Who became slaves? How were the lives of servants and slaves alike? How were they different? What rights did servants have that slaves didn't?

Activities

In preparation for the first activity, you may want to have students read chapter 3, "The Slave Ship" in *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, as well as John Henrik Clarke's "Introduction" in *The Middle Passage: White Ships/Black Cargo* by Tom Feelings (New York: Dial, 1995). Fictional treatments may also be helpful, such as "The Transmission" in *Africans in America* by Charles Johnson, Patricia Smith, and the WGBH Series Research Team (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998), *The Middle Passage* by Charles Johnson (New York: Atheneum, 1990), and *Sacred Hunger* by Barry Unsworth (New York: Norton, 1992).

1 In *The Middle Passage: White Ships/Black Cargo*, artist Tom Feelings tells the story of the brutal trans-Atlantic crossing through a series of sixty-four narrative paintings. Have students review the paintings. What do the paintings tell you about the Middle Passage? How do they convey the struggle for survival? Why might Feelings have chosen to use pictures instead of words to tell the story? After discussion, invite students to read Feelings' preface, in which he describes how he came to tell "a story that changed me forever." Have students reflect on what the paintings express about the Middle Passage and explore their personal reactions. Then have students write a response to the book — in the form of a journal entry, letter to the author, or captioned illustrations.

2 Using the library and the Internet (see *General Resources*, pages 22–24), have students find examples of newspapers and broadsides of the colonial era. Then, ask them to create an advertisement for indentured servants. What terms of employment might be offered? What skills or qualifications would be required? How might such an ad differ from that for buying or selling slaves?

BOOKS

Davis, T. J. *Rumor of Revolt: The "Great Negro Plot" in Colonial New York*. New York: Free Press, 1985.

Frank, Andrew. *The Birth of Black America: The Age of Discovery and the Slave Trade*. New York: Chelsea House, 1996.

Katz, William Loren. *Black Legacy: A History of New York's African Americans*. New York: Atheneum, 1997.

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Morgan, Edmund. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: Norton, 1975.

Thomas, Hugh. *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440–1870*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.

Wood, Peter. *Strange New Land: African Americans 1617–1776*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Zinn, Howard. "Persons of Mean and Vile Condition" in *A People's History of the United States*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1995.

WEB SITES

The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano
http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_2/equiano.html
Excerpts of Olaudah Equiano's narrative, along with analytical questions.

North American Colonies
http://www.whc.neu.edu/prototype/toc.html
Thematic chapters on the colonial New World, including primary sources and interactive exercises.

Lesson Focus: Freedom Denied

We think about slavery as this complete package that just came to evil landowners. It didn't happen that way. It happened one law at a time, one person at a time.
Frances Latimer, local historian

How did race-based slavery develop? This lesson uses a program segment and primary sources to focus on the shift from bond labor to slave labor in the British American colonies. Students trace the development of laws that enforced the slave status of Africans and their descendants.

PROGRAM SEGMENT *(approximately 20 minutes)* *
In 1619 Africans arrive in Virginia as indentured servants; over the next century, laws develop that define slavery by race.
BEGIN: A mystery ship appears at Jamestown.
END: T. H. Breen says, "It's a long way from Anthony Johnson's hope. . . ."

BEFORE WATCHING

1 Slavery evolved in the British American colonies as a social, economic, and legal institution. Ask students, *What are the characteristics of an institution? How do institutions get started? What are their impact on society?* Discuss some historical and contemporary examples (e.g., public schools). Develop a class definition of *institution*.

2 As students watch the program segment, have them note the laws and legal decisions that are mentioned, and who was affected by them.

AFTER WATCHING

1 Revisit the class definition of *institution*. How was slavery an institution? How was it like or unlike other American institutions?

2 Discuss the laws and legal decisions that students noted while watching the program segment. What were these laws and why were they enacted? Who was affected by them? How did they serve to institutionalize slavery? What racial attitudes allowed acceptance of these laws? Could slavery have developed without them?

EXPLORING PRIMARY SOURCES

These laws (see page 7) were the first among many that established race-based slavery as a legal system in the British American colonies. As a class, read and summarize them. Organize the class into two groups to study one or more of the laws. For background, have students research colonial life, using the *Before Watching* and *After Watching* questions on page 4, books such as *A Multicultural Portrait of Colonial Life* by Carolyn Kott Washburne (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1993), and other resources (see pages 22–24).

The **first group** will portray members of a legislative body that is discussing the laws. (Remind students that only white male property owners were allowed to vote or hold office.) The group should include planters, merchants, and religious officials. Their discussion should address these questions:

- Why is this law necessary?
- What will it accomplish if enacted?
- What will happen if it is not enacted?

The **second group** will portray indentured, enslaved, and free laborers, and should include African, Indian, and European men and women. This group will discuss the impact each law will have on them, individually and as a group. Their discussion should address these questions:

- Will this law affect me or my family? If so, how?
- How might it change my life?
- How can we resist these laws?

Have both groups describe their respective characters (by race, class, gender, legal status, etc.) before they present their responses. Afterward, have the class discuss the following questions: How did the interests of the two groups conflict? Who benefited the most from these laws? Who benefited the least? Were the consequences of these laws the same for all individuals within each group?

* Final program segment may have changed slightly. Check the updated Teacher's Guide on the Web site (www.pbs.org/africansinamerica) or write: WGBH (see page 25).

Colonial Laws

VIRGINIA, 1639

Act X. All persons except Negroes are to be provided with arms and ammunitions or be fined at the pleasure of the governor and council.

This was the first law to exclude "Negroes" from normal protections by the government.

SOURCE: Jane Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 47.

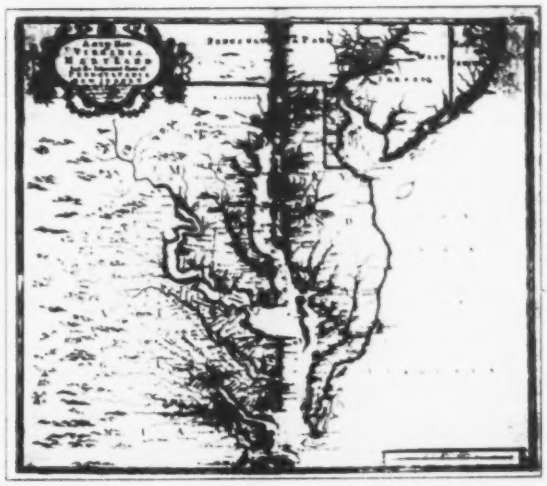
VIRGINIA, 1667

Act III. Whereas some doubts have arisen whether children that are slaves by birth . . . should by virtue of their baptism be made free, it is enacted that baptism does not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom: masters freed from this doubt may more carefully propagate Christianity by permitting slaves to be admitted to that sacrament.

This act established that Christian baptism would not affect the bondage of blacks or Indians.

SOURCE: Jane Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia*, 42.

A 1710 map of Maryland and Virginia



MARYLAND, 1664

That whatsoever free-born [English] woman shall intermarry with any slave . . . shall serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband; and that all the issue of such free-born women, so married shall be slaves as their fathers were.

This was the first colonial "anti-amalgamation" law (amalgamation referred to "race-mixing"). Other colonies soon followed Maryland's example. A 1691 Virginia law declared that any white man or woman who married a "Negro, mulatto, or Indian" would be banished from the colony forever.

SOURCE: Lerone Bennet, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*, 5th ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 301.

VIRGINIA, 1682

Act I. It is enacted that all servants . . . which [sic] shall be imported into this country either by sea or by land, whether Negroes, Moors [Muslim North Africans], mulattoes or Indians who and whose parentage and native countries are not Christian at the time of their first purchase by some Christian . . . and all Indians, which shall be sold by our neighboring Indians, or any other trafficing with us for slaves, are hereby adjudged deemed and taken to be slaves to all intents and purposes any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

This law established the racial distinction between servants and slaves.

SOURCE: Jane Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia*, 26.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

For more primary sources, visit the *Africans in America* Web site at **www.pbs.org/africansinamerica**.

Revolution 1750–1805

As "freedom fever" sweeps the British American colonies, enslaved Africans apply the rhetoric of liberty to their own continuing struggles. Blacks challenge white America to live up to the "natural rights" doctrine espoused in Revolutionary documents. Finding slaves and free black men among his newly mustered troops, George Washington initially bars blacks from further enlistment, but as his forces dwindle — and thousands of slaves are lured into the British army by promises of freedom — Washington establishes a black regiment. African Americans, enslaved and free, then face a difficult dilemma: which side of the conflict holds the greatest promise of freedom for black men and women?

George Washington

Phillis Wheatley

CURRICULUM LINKS

Continental Congress

Declaration of Independence

Revolutionary War

NOTABLE PEOPLE

Lord Dunmore

Thomas Jefferson

Venture Smith

George Washington

Phillis Wheatley

Discussion Questions

BEFORE WATCHING

1. How do you think freedom was defined in 1776? As students watch the program, have them look for examples of how race, class, and gender influenced individual rights and freedoms. Did all Europeans support the idea of independence?

2. Who was considered an "American" before the Revolutionary War? As students watch the program, ask them to take notes on how an American identity began to be formed during and after the Revolution.

3. As students watch the program, have them compare the opportunities that existed for Venture Smith to those that were available to George Washington. How were they similar? How were they different?

Single acts of tyranny may be ascribed to the accidental opinion of the day; but a series of oppressions . . . too plainly proof a deliberate systematical plan of reducing us to slavery. . . . Let no act be passed by any one legislature, which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another.

Thomas Jefferson, 1774, from *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*[1]

AFTER WATCHING

1. What was "freedom fever"? How did it affect Europeans and Africans in the colonies? Why were some not inspired by "freedom fever"?
2. What opportunities for freedom did the Revolutionary War offer? Who could take advantage of those opportunities? Who couldn't? Why? Why was it so difficult for Washington to maintain a colonial army?
3. In what ways were the lives of Venture Smith and George Washington connected? What do their lives teach us about our shared history?
4. After the Revolutionary War, was everyone in the former British colonies considered an American? Why or why not?

Activities

1. While less than a quarter of the white population owned slaves, slaveholding created an economy that fueled nearly every industry in North America. Organize students into teams to research an industry that existed in 18th-century America. Each team should answer the following questions about their industry:
   - What jobs were generated by each of these industries?
   - Who held these jobs?
   - How were these industries connected to slavery?

   Have the teams chart their research and present their findings. As a class, conclude by discussing the following questions: Who profited from slavery? Who was dependent on slavery? Why?

2. Read the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence aloud. Ask students to imagine themselves as an African American, Native American, or poor white — man or woman — who is hearing it for the first time in 1776. Have them write an "authentic" response (based on their research about what life would have been like then) in the form of a speech, letter, or diary entry. You might also invite students to develop and deliver an oral response. (Students may want to tape record their presentations first in order to critique and revise as needed.)

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Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution.* New York: Norton, 1973.

Sisson, Mary. *The Gathering Storm 1787–1829.* Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1997.

Zinn, Howard. "A Kind of Revolution," in *A People's History of the United States.* New York: HarperPerennial, 1995.

WEB SITES

Famous Afro-Americans in the American Revolutionary War
http://mac94.ralphbunche.rbs.edu/history/aha/blacks.html
Primary sources, examples of student projects, papers, and scholars' essays.

The Modern English Collection at University of Virginia
http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/modeng/modeng0.browse.html
Excerpts from the works of African Americans, as well as the writings of Jefferson (including his correspondence to and from Benjamin Banneker).

One for Each Thousand: A Portrait of Five Black Patriots
http://www.blackpatriots.org/aboutpa.html
Summaries of the accomplishments of black patriots.

Profiles in Connecticut Black History
http://news.courant.com/interact/special/bhistory/barchive.htm
The story of Venture Smith and other early American historical figures in Connecticut.

[1] quoted in *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: The Modern Library, 1944), 299–310.

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Lesson Focus: Freedom Fire

There will be petition after petition [during the Revolutionary era] to the Massachusetts Colonial Assembly and then later to the Continental Congress. Petitions [were] sent by African slaves themselves saying that we are demanding that you give us the same kind of freedom that you are demanding from England.

John Hope Franklin, historian

How revolutionary was the American Revolution? This lesson uses a program segment and primary sources to explore the revolutionary rhetoric of British American colonists and its application to the lives of enslaved Africans and free blacks.

PROGRAM SEGMENT *(approximately 27 minutes)*

As American colonists invoke the language of liberty to press for economic freedom from British rule, African Americans, both enslaved and free, use the same language to fight for freedom from chattel slavery and the repressive laws.

BEGIN: Narrator: "In the years following the Stamp Act . . ."

END: Narrator: "Some five thousand black soldiers would serve alongside whites."

BEFORE WATCHING

1. Bearing in mind the various groups of people who lived in the American colonies, who do you think fought in the Revolutionary War? On which side? Why?

2. Discuss the meaning of the words freedom, liberty, and slavery. How might different groups in the American colonies — men, women, black, white, Native American — define those words? As students watch the program segment, have them look for evidence of how African Americans and British colonists defined these terms.

AFTER WATCHING

1. Who supported the idea of a war for American independence? Who opposed it? Why? How did the information presented in the program segment support or change your previous knowledge about the American Revolution?

2. How did Lord Dunmore's proclamation change the course of the war? How did the proclamation unite the American colonists?

3. On which side of the Revolutionary War do you think blacks should have fought? Why?

EXPLORING PRIMARY SOURCES

How could the reality of American slavery coexist with the ideal of American liberty? Why was a passage in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, blaming King George III for African slavery in the colonies, deleted from the final version? To explore colonial perspectives on freedom and slavery, read and summarize the Jefferson quotation on page 9 and the documents on page 11, as a class or in small groups.

Have students discuss the meaning of the following statement: "Resolved: American slavery is an oxymoron." Now ask students to imagine that Thomas Jefferson, Venture Smith, George Washington, Abigail Adams, John Allen, Benjamin Banneker, Lord Dunmore, James Otis, and Phillis Wheatley have met to debate the statement. Which side of the debate would each of these people be on and why?

Working individually or in teams, have students use the Declaration of Independence and other period documents* to research each historical character's views on slavery, freedom, individual rights, American independence, and citizenship. Then have them present their findings to the class by holding a mock debate or acting as reporters covering the debate.

* Additional documents, found on the *Africans in America* Web site (www.pbs.org/africansinamerica) or in the collections of primary sources listed in the *General Resources* section (see pages 22–24), include the following: Abigail Adams's letter to her husband in September 1774; Benjamin Banneker's letter to Thomas Jefferson (and Jefferson's reply); Jefferson's letters and his *Notes on the State of Virginia*; Lord Dunmore's proclamation and letters; Felix's Petition (Boston 1773); Venture Smith's narrative; George Washington's letters; and Phillis Wheatley's poem "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth" and her letter to the Reverend Samson Occom.

Petitions and Pamphlets

From a SLAVE PETITION to the MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, April 20, 1773

We expect great things from men who have made such a noble stand against the designs of their fellow-men [sic] to enslave them. . . . We are very sensible that it would be highly detrimental to our present masters, if we were allowed to demand all that of right belongs to us for past services; this we disclaim. Even the Spaniards, who have not those sublime ideas of freedom that English men have, are conscious that they have no right to all the services of their fellow-men, [sic] we mean the Africans, whom they have purchased with their money; therefore they allow them one day in a week to work for themselves, to enable them to earn money to purchase the residue of their time, which they have a right to demand in such portions as they are able to pay for. . . . We acknowledge our obligations to you for what you have already done, but as the people of this province seem to be actuated by the principles of equity and justice, we cannot but expect your house will again take our deplorable case into serious consideration, and give us that ample relief which, as men, we have a natural right to. . . .

This petition was submitted "In behalf of our fellow slaves of this province, and by order of their Committee" by Peter Bestes, Sambo Freeman, Felix Holbrook, and Chester Joie.

SOURCE: Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States.* (New York: The Citadel Press) 1969, 7–8.

From THE RIGHTS OF THE BRITISH COLONIES ASSERTED AND PROVED, James Otis, 1764

The colonists are by the law of nature freeborn, as indeed all men are, white or black. . . . Does it follow that 'tis right to enslave a man because he is black? Will short curled hair like wool instead of Christian hair, as 'tis called by those whose hearts are as hard as the nether millstone, help the argument? Can any logical inference in favor of slavery be drawn from a flat nose, a long or a short face? Nothing better can be said in favor of a trade [the slave trade] that is the most shocking violation of the law of nature, has a direct tendency to diminish the idea of the inestimable value of liberty, and makes every dealer in it a tyrant. . . .

James Otis was a leading Boston lawyer whose well-known pamphlet featured a section on the "Natural Rights of Colonists," including enslaved blacks.

SOURCE: Bernard Bailyn, ed., *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750–1776*, Vol. I. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 1965), 419–440.

From THE WATCHMAN'S ALARM, John Allen, 1774

Blush ye pretended votaries of freedom! ye trifling patriots! who are making a vain parade of being advocates for the liberties of mankind, who are thus making a mockery of your profession by trampling on the sacred natural rights and privileges of Africans; for while you are fasting, praying, nonimporting, nonexporting, remonstrating, resolving, and pleading for a restoration of your charter rights, you at the same time are continuing this lawless, cruel, inhuman, and abominable practice of enslaving your fellow creatures . . . what is a trifling three-penny duty on tea compared to the inestimable blessings of liberty to one captive?

John Allen was a New England Baptist minister and pamphleteer.

SOURCE: Bernard Bailyn, ed., *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750–1776*, Vol. I. 419–440.

For more primary sources, visit the *Africans in America* Web site at **www.pbs.org/africansinamerica.**

Brotherly Love 1781–1834

A new generation of African American leadership emerges in several Northern cities, including Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. As free blacks and fugitive slaves seek full participation in American democracy, the establishment of black churches provides a forum for political organization, economic cooperation, resistance, and rebellion. The Haitian Revolution inspires slave rebellions throughout the South, and the end of the international slave trade strengthens the abolitionist movement. Elsewhere, the invention of the cotton gin creates increased profits for planters and fuels the expansion of slavery into the deep South and West, as the Louisiana Purchase expands the country's borders.

CURRICULUM LINKS

Abolition
Citizenship
Constitution
Immigration
Westward Expansion

NOTABLE PEOPLE

Richard Allen
Paul Cuffe
James Forten
Gabriel (Prosser)
Thomas Jefferson
Toussaint L'Ouverture
Nat Turner
Denmark Vesey

Discussion Questions

BEFORE WATCHING

1. What do you think it was like to be a free black person in the North at the beginning of the 19th century? How might it be different from being a free white person? Record students' responses in a compare-and-contrast chart.

2. Why do you think religion and the church were so important in the lives of free and enslaved blacks? What role do you think religion played in the lives of slaveholders and other proponents of slavery?

3. Read Article I, Section 9, of the U.S. Constitution. To whom do you think it refers? What do you think it accomplished?

AFTER WATCHING

1. Revisit the chart created in Question #1 above. Ask students to add new information and make corrections according to what they have learned in the program.

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The Edward Clay cartoons are indeed documentation of a sort, as well as ridicule. . . . By 1830, there are about 15,000 African Americans in Philadelphia — about 1,000 who are economically and socially in a position to live a kind of middle class urban life.

Emma Lapsansky, historian

AFTER WATCHING *continued*

3 In addition to escaping or conducting armed rebellion, in what ways did enslaved blacks resist slavery? In what ways did free blacks struggle for full citizenship? In what ways were their efforts similar or different?

4 In the program, historian Albert Raboteau says, "It was important [for the citizens of Charleston] to raze the [African] church [after the Vesey Rebellion]. It shows the importance of these black institutions for a sense of black independence and autonomy. It's the same reason that black churches are bombed or burned today. It represents a sense of crucial autonomy for black people . . . which in Charleston had turned dangerous." Why do you think he makes that comparison? Do you agree? Why or why not?

Activities

1 Have students choose one of the Clay cartoons depicted in the program (available on the Web site: www.pbs.org/africansinamerica) and then discuss the following questions.*

- Why were the cartoons created? Who do you think was expected to buy them?
- What aspect of black life does the cartoon stereotype or ridicule?
- In what ways are the faces and bodies of the people depicted in the cartoon exaggerated? Why do you think the cartoonist depicted them in this way?
- How are captions or dialogue used to reinforce the stereotypes?
- How do you think black people in Philadelphia viewed these cards?

Have students bring in examples from today's media that they feel present stereotypical images of African Americans or other groups. How do such images contribute to modern beliefs about race? How does it affect our definition of who is an American today?

2 Divide the class into three teams to research the Gabriel, Vesey, and Turner rebellions, considering the following questions:

- What made others see Gabriel, Vesey, or Turner as leaders?
- What events and ideas prompted the rebellion?
- Who was involved (e.g., slaves, free blacks, whites)? What alliances had to be formed? What were the risks and dangers for the people involved?
- What were the goals of the rebellion? Was the rebellion successful? Why or why not? What did the rebellion accomplish?
- How did the slaveholding community respond after the rebellion? Why? How did their response affect enslaved and free blacks?

Using newspapers, speeches, letters, or other documents, have students present their research to the class in one of the following formats: a meeting in which the conspirators discuss their plans, the trial of the conspirators, or a discussion of the rebellion among free northern blacks.

BOOKS

Ellis, Joseph. *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*. New York: Knopf, 1997.

McKissack, Patricia, and Frederick McKissack. *Rebels Against Slavery: American Slave Revolts*. New York: Scholastic, 1996.

Nash, Gary B. *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Sisson, Mary Barr. *The Gathering Storm, 1787–1829*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1997.

Sterling, Dorothy, ed. *Speak Out in Thunder Tones: Letters and Other Writings by Black Northerners, 1787–1865*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1998.

White, Deborah Gray. *Let My People Go: African Americans 1804–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

WEB SITES

Primary Source Documents from the Collections at the Library of Virginia
http://vlinsvr.vsla.edu/public/education/documents.html
Primary sources from 1775 through 1825 present diverse perspectives of common people and early political leaders, including Gabriel.

* You may also want to expand this activity to include the stereotypes of the Irish in America, discussed in "Race in Pre-Civil War America" by Noel Ignatiev in *Social Education* (October 1998).

The AME [African Methodist Episcopal] Church was the main black institution for most of the 19th century. It served as a forum for political organization, for economic cooperation . . . a place where blacks could express themselves in a public arena. It served as a focal point for the organization of free black communities.

Albert Raboteau, historian

Lesson Focus: In Pursuit of Freedom

How did African Americans respond to the denial of freedom and the rights of citizenship? This lesson uses a program segment and primary sources to explore various perspectives on African colonization of free blacks.

PROGRAM SEGMENT *(approximately 20 minutes)*

As the free black population struggles to create autonomous communities in the North, slavery continues in the South. Efforts by white authorities to suppress the black church result in a conspiracy of thousands of free and enslaved blacks, led by Denmark Vesey in South Carolina.

BEGIN: Absalom Jones voiceover: "Let the first of January be set apart in every year . . ."

END: Vesey's followers are executed.

BEFORE WATCHING

1 Assign students one of the historical figures (Richard Allen, Paul Cuffe, James Forten, Denmark Vesey) or institutions (American Colonization Society; African Methodist Episcopal Church and its "mother" church, Bethel in Philadelphia; Charleston's African Church) mentioned in the program. Ask students to take notes on the role of that person, group, or institution in the fight against slavery.

2 Throughout history people have disagreed about whether or not resistance to oppression should be violent or peaceful. Ask students to discuss their opinions on what methods should be used to fight for freedom in general and against slavery in particular.

AFTER WATCHING

1 Ask students to share their notes in class. How did the person, group, or institution they took notes on contribute to resistance or rebellion against slavery? How effective was that contribution?

2 Who were the men of the American Colonization Society? Why did the group believe that free blacks should be sent to Africa? Why did free blacks such as Paul Cuffe support the back-to-Africa movement?

3 What rights could free blacks expect to have in America? Why would some have wanted to go elsewhere (e.g., Canada, Africa, the Caribbean)?

EXPLORING PRIMARY SOURCES

As a whole class or in small groups, read and summarize each of the primary sources on page 15. Using the primary sources and additional background information, the class will role play an African American community meeting, such as those held in Philadelphia, Charleston, and other cities, to decide the group's position on colonization.

To prepare, each student will create a fictitious persona of an early 19th-century African American. Have students do background reading and research in order to develop their character. In preparing a brief biography of their character, ask students to consider whether or not he or she

- is enslaved, fugitive slave, or free.
- earns money for his or her labor.
- has a family that is enslaved or free.
- owns nothing, has some material comforts, or is affluent. (Explain how the wealth was acquired.)
- lives in the South, the North, or the western territories.

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Speeches and Letters

MEETING OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR, Richmond, Virginia, January 24, 1817

We perfectly agree with the Society [American Colonization Society], that it is not only proper, but would ultimately tend to the benefit and advantage of a great portion of our suffering fellow creatures, to be colonized; but . . . we prefer being colonized in the most remote corner of the land of our nativity, to being exiled to a foreign country. . . . we respectfully submit to the wisdom of Congress whether it would not be an act of charity to grant us a small portion of their territory, either on the Missouri river, or any place that may seem to them most conducive to the public good and our future welfare.

SOURCE: Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1969), 70–71.

Letter from JAMES FORTEN to PAUL CUFFE, January 25, 1817

In deed the people of Colour here was very much fritened at first; they were afrade that all the free people would be compelled to go, particularly in the suthern States. We had a large meeting of males. . . . Three Thousand at least attended, and there was not one sole that was in favor of going to Africa. They think that the slave holders wants to get rid of them so as to make their property more secure . . . they all think that sumthing must . . . be done but do not know were nor how to begin . . . the people here bothe White and Colour are decided against the measure. My opinion is that they will never become a people until they come our from amongst the white people, but . . . the majority is descidedly against me. . . .

SOURCE: Rosalind Cobb Wiggins, *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808–1810* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1996), 501–502.
This letter retains the original spelling and punctuation.

A MEMORIAL TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS
American Colonization Society, February 3, 1820

[I]t is best, for all the parties interested, that there should be a separation; that those who are now free, and those who may become so hereafter, should be provided with the means of attaining to a state of respectability and happiness, which, it is certain, they have never yet reached, and, therefore, can never be likely to reach, in this country. . . . Since the establishment of the English settlement at Sierra Leone, the slave trade has been rapidly ceasing upon that part of the coast. . . . No nation has it so much in its power to furnish proper settlers for such establishments as this; no nation has so deep an interest in thus disposing of them. . . . And it is evidently most important, if not necessary . . . that the civilized people of color of this country . . . should be connected with such an establishment.

SOURCE: Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando, eds., *Civil Rights and the Black American: A Documentary History* (New York: Washington Square Press, [illegible]), 70–71.

Letter from ABRAHAM CAMP to ELIAS B. CALDWELL
July 13, 1818

I am a free man of colour, have a family and a large connection of free people of colour residing on the Wabash, who are all willing to leave America whenever the way shall be opened. We love this country and its liberties, if we could share an equal right in them; but our freedom is partial, and we have no hope that it ever will be otherwise here; therefore we had rather be gone, though we should suffer hunger and nakedness for years.

Elias B. Caldwell was secretary of the American Colonization Society.

SOURCE: Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, 72.

For more primary sources, visit the *Africans in America* Web site at **www.pbs.org/africansinamerica**.

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PROGRAM FOUR

Judgment Day 1831–1861

As slavery spreads west, conflicting ideologies cause a split between black abolitionists and their white allies over southern slavery and northern racism. Blacks organize state, regional, and national "colored" conventions in an attempt to forge a unified platform. The Compromise of 1850, far from easing the national controversy over slavery, creates new threats to black freedom and escalates sectional tensions. When black rights are obliterated by the Dred Scott decision, the direct action strategies increasingly favored by black abolitionists gain support in the North as the country moves closer toward civil war. Which faction will win: pro-slavery, free-soil (controlled slavery), or abolitionist?

Frederick Douglass

Fanny Kemble

CURRICULUM LINKS

Abolitionist Movement
Compromise of 1850
Constitution
Dred Scott Decision
Fugitive Slave Law (1850)
Westward Expansion

NOTABLE PEOPLE

John Brown
Anthony Burns
Pierce Butler
Frederick Douglass
William Lloyd Garrison
Harriet Jacobs
Fanny Kemble
David Walker

Discussion Questions

BEFORE WATCHING

1. What impact do you think slavery had on white people who didn't own slaves? On those who did own slaves? Why might someone who wasn't a slaveowner support slavery? Why might someone be opposed to the spread of slavery, but not opposed to slavery itself?

2. Who was involved in the abolitionist movement? In what ways do you think abolitionists differed on the strategies and goals of their movement? Why do you think they disagreed?

AFTER WATCHING

1. Why did the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and the Dred Scott decision of 1857 result in more direct action against slavery by black abolitionists?

2. Revisit the discussion about the abolitionist movement that students had prior to watching the program. What new information can they add?

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The struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.

Frederick Douglass, 1849*

Activities

1 Is the Constitution a pro-slavery or anti-slavery document? Frederick Douglass's evolving position on this question was one of the major issues that eventually led to the bitter split between him and his mentor and friend, William Lloyd Garrison. Have students use their own analyses of the Constitution, as well as the speeches, letters, and editorials of Douglass and Garrison, to write an essay about whom they agree with and why.

2 The debate on Henry Highland Garnet's "Address to the Slaves of the United States" lasted for four days before Garnet's call to arms was rejected by the 1843 Negro National Convention at Buffalo. Why did delegates such as Douglass oppose the address, even though they did not oppose armed resistance? What other conflicting ideas about strategies separated the delegates? Have students research the anti-slavery positions of Douglass, Garnet, and other black abolitionists. Ask students to imagine that they are attending the convention. Have them prepare a brief speech stating their position on the views expressed in the debate.

3 Ask students to imagine that they are runaway slaves or anti-slavery sympathizers in the 1830s. Then have them write autobiographical narratives in the tradition of historical characters whom they have studied. The narratives will describe how they ran away or how they helped runaways, and should include how old they are, what work they do, what skills they have, and where they live.

Students should base their narratives on historical evidence, such as authentic narratives, letters, and period newspaper articles. You may also want to have students read one of these historical novels, based on real incidents and people: *Long Journey Home: Stories from Black History*, by Julius Lester (New York: Puffin, 1998); *Letters from a Slave Girl: The Story of Harriet Jacobs*, by Mary E. Lyons (New York: Aladdin, 1996); *Underground Man*, by Milton Meltzer (San Diego: Odyssey Classics, 1990); *Harriet Tubman*, by Ann Petry (New York: HarperTrophy, 1996).

Students who are writing as **runaway slaves** should consider these questions:

- What will you need to have and to know? How will you obtain the necessary materials and information?
- Whom will you need to trust?
- What obstacles or challenges will you face? How might you overcome them?
- What are the risks if you are captured?

Students who are writing as **anti-slavery activists** should consider these questions:

- What will you need to know and to do? How will you find this information and decide what action to take?
- Whom will you need to trust?
- What obstacles or challenges will you face? How might you overcome them?
- How will you persuade others to support anti-slavery?
- What are the risks if you are discovered?

*quoted in Timothy J. Paulsen, *Days of Sorrow, Years of Glory 1831–1850*. (New York: Chelsea House, 1994), 106.

BOOKS

Cain, William E., ed. *William Lloyd Garrison and the Fight Against Slavery: Selections from The Liberator*. New York: Bedford Books, 1995.

David Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles. . . Rev. ed. Introduction by Sean Wilentz. New York: Hill and Wang, 1965.

Douglass, Frederick. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. New York: Macmillan, 1962.

Katz, William Loren. *The Westward Movement and Abolitionism, 1815–1850*. Austin: Raintree Steck-Vaughn, 1993.

Jacobs, Harriet. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself*. Edited by Jean Fagan Yellin. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Jacobs, Donald M., ed. *Courage and Conscience: Black and White Abolitionists in Boston*. Urbana: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Kemble, Frances Anne (Fanny). *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839*. Edited by John A. Scott. New York: Knopf, 1961.

Lester, Julius. *From Slave Ship to Freedom Road*. Illustrated by Rod Brown. New York: Dial, 1998.

Ripley, C. Peter, ed. *Witness for Freedom: African American Voices on Race, Freedom and Emancipation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Sterling, Dorothy, ed. *Turning the World Upside Down: The Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women*. New York: Feminist Press, 1987.

Sterling, Dorothy. *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Norton, 1997.

WEB SITES

Underground Railroad
http://www.cr.nps.gov/aahistory/
This National Park Services site offers an interactive study guide and a tour of historic places.

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There was a conspiracy of silence on the slavery issue. And one of the first things abolitionists had to do was put the issue on the table in a way that it couldn't be ignored. Or as Wendell Phillips said, our enemy is not the slaveowner only, it's also the person of good will who simply doesn't want to talk about slavery. . . .

Eric Foner, historian

Lesson Focus: For and Against Freedom

This lesson uses a program segment and primary sources to deepen understanding of the militant phase of anti-slavery activism inspired by the pamphlets, newspapers, speeches, and organized campaigns of early 19th-century abolitionists.

PROGRAM SEGMENT

As slavery spreads rapidly into the West and Southwest, a new phase of anti-slavery activism begins — as well as increased pro-slavery violence and legal repression of African Americans and their white allies.

NOTE: At the time of printing, Program Four was still in production. The final program segment may change. Check the updated Teacher's Guide on the Web site (www.pbs.org/africansinamerica) or write: WGBH, EPO, 125 Western Avenue, Boston, MA 02134 for the final program segment.

BEFORE WATCHING

1. How did abolitionists propose to bring about the end of slavery? What risks did they face? How do you think other people responded to their efforts?

2. What influence could a speech, pamphlet, or newspaper have on those for or against slavery? Why might reading or writing be considered "dangerous" by pro-slavery proponents?

AFTER WATCHING

1. What were some of the methods used by abolitionists? How did women contribute to the movement?

2. In addition to the abolition of slavery, in what other ways did abolitionists seek to change America? Why did some view their activities as a threat to the social order?

3. In what ways could *Walker's Appeal* reach the South? Once there, how could it be distributed? Who do you think distributed it? What consequences might a person in possession of *Walker's Appeal* face if caught?

4. After *Walker's Appeal* appeared in the South, the governors of Georgia and North Carolina called secret sessions of the state legislatures to decide how to deal with the threat. Why do you think it posed such a threat?

EXPLORING PRIMARY SOURCES

Why did abolitionists find so much resistance to their cause in the North? As a class, read and discuss the primary source documents on page 19. In each document, who is speaking? To whom is he speaking? What is the intended audience? How do you think they responded?

Historian Herbert Aptheker identifies three major schools of thought among abolitionists:

- Moral suasion [persuasion] as the only proper and effective instrument for change
- Moral suasion supported by political action
- Resistance through direct, physical, militant action.*

As a class, discuss these approaches. What strategies and tactics would advocates of each of these ideologies use? Which approach do you think was most effective? Why do you think one approach was more effective than another? When were approaches combined?

Following the class discussion, have students work individually or in small groups to identify and research an abolitionist who exemplified one of these ideological approaches. Use the *General Resources* (see pages 22–24) to find letters, speeches, pamphlets, books, and newspaper articles by or about abolitionists (or about abolition, pro or con) written between 1830 and 1863. What did this person say and do that indicated his or her position? Who else supported these ideas and actions? Who was opposed? Have students write a newspaper editorial for or against the abolitionist(s) they have researched. Ask for volunteers to present their editorials to the class.

* Herbert Aptheker, *"One Continual Cry" David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World (1829–1830): Its Setting & Its Meaning*. (New York: Humanities Press, 1965).

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Pamphlets and Speeches

From the Third Edition of WALKER'S APPEAL, Boston, 1830

Why do the Slave-holders or Tyrants of America and their advocates fight so hard to keep my brethren from receiving and reading my Book of Appeal to them? — Is it because they treat us so well? — is it because they are treating us like men, by compensating us all over this free country!! For our labours? — But why are the Americans so very fearfully terrified respecting my Book? — Why do they search vessels, &c. when entering the harbours of tyrannical States, to see if any of my Books can be found for fear that my brethren will get them to read. Why, I thought the Americans proclaimed to the world that they are a happy, enlightened, humane and Christian people all the inhabitants of the country enjoy equal Rights!! America is the Asylum for the oppressed of all nations!!! . . . But perhaps the Americans do their very best to keep my Brethren from receiving and reading my "Appeal" for fear they will find in it an extract which I made from their Declaration of Independence, which says, "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . "

SOURCE: Herbert Aptheker, *"One Continual Cry" David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World (1829–1830): Its Setting & Its Meaning* (New York: Humanities Press, 1965), 139–140.

Letter to REVEREND SAMUEL J. MAY,
From a partner in a prominent New York mercantile house, 1835

We cannot afford, sir, to let you and your associates succeed in your endeavor to overthrow slavery. It is not a matter of principle with us. It is a matter of business necessity. . . . And I have called you out to let you know, that we do not mean to allow you to succeed. We mean, sir, to put you Abolitionists down . . . by fair means, if we can, by foul means, if we must.

SOURCE: Herbert Aptheker, *"One Continual Cry,"* 20.

JAMES HAMMOND,
South Carolina slaveholder and politician, 1845

Nay, supposing that we were all convinced, and thought of slavery precisely as you do, at what era of "moral suasion" do you imagine you could prevail on us to give up a thousand millions [sic] of dollars in the value of our slaves, and a thousand millions [sic] of dollars more in the depreciation of our lands, in consequence of the want of laborers to cultivate them?

SOURCE: Herbert Aptheker, *"One Continual Cry,"* 19.

DAVID RUGGLES,
Secretary, New York Committee of Vigilance, 1840

We must remember that while our fellow countrymen of the south are slaves to individuals, we of the north are slaves to the community, and ever will be so, until we arise, and by the help of Him who governs the destiny of nations, go forward, and . . . ourselves strike for reform — individual, general and radical reform, in every ramification of society. . . . Strike for freedom, or die slaves! . . . In our cause, mere words are nothing — action is everything. Buckle on your armour, and appear at the Black Convention, remember that our cause demands of us union and agitation . . . agitation and action.

SOURCE: Vincent Harding, *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 119.

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For more primary sources, visit the *Africans in America* Web site at **www.pbs.org/africansinamerica**.

Using Primary Source Documents

Using primary sources can be a powerful and evocative way to engage students in history. However, students can sometimes have trouble understanding or analyzing primary sources. The following questions* will help students feel more comfortable using such sources. Students may find it helpful to underline the answers within each document.

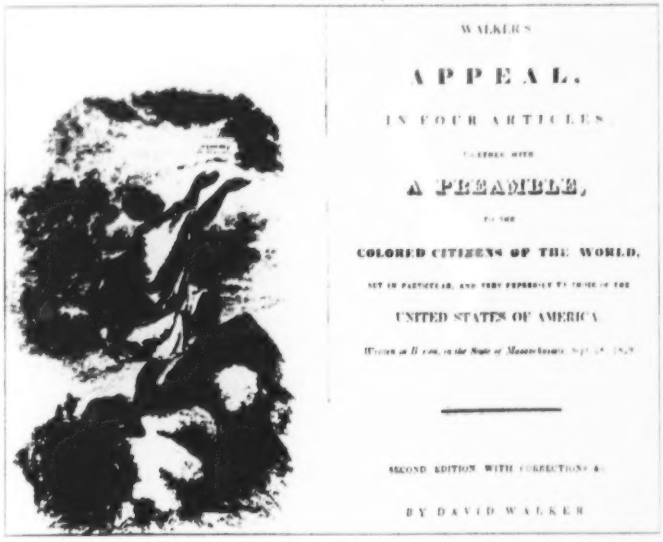
1 Descriptive Questions: *What does it say?*
- Who produced the document? When?
- Who was supposed to read, see, or hear it?
- What does it say? What story does it tell?

2 Analytical Questions: *What does it mean?*
- Why was it produced? What purpose or purposes was it intended to serve?
- What does it tell us about the values, beliefs, institutions, and problems of the individual, group, or society that produced it?

3 "So What" Questions: *Why do we care?*
- Why is what we learn about the past from this document important?
- What importance does it have for our own world?

Many of the books and Web sites listed in the *General Resources* section (see page 22–24) contain rich primary sources, as does the *Africans in America* Web site (www.pbs.org/africansinamerica).

* *Adapted from Christine Michelmore, used by permission.*



WALKER'S

APPEAL,

IN FOUR ARTICLES,

WITH

A PREAMBLE,

TO THE

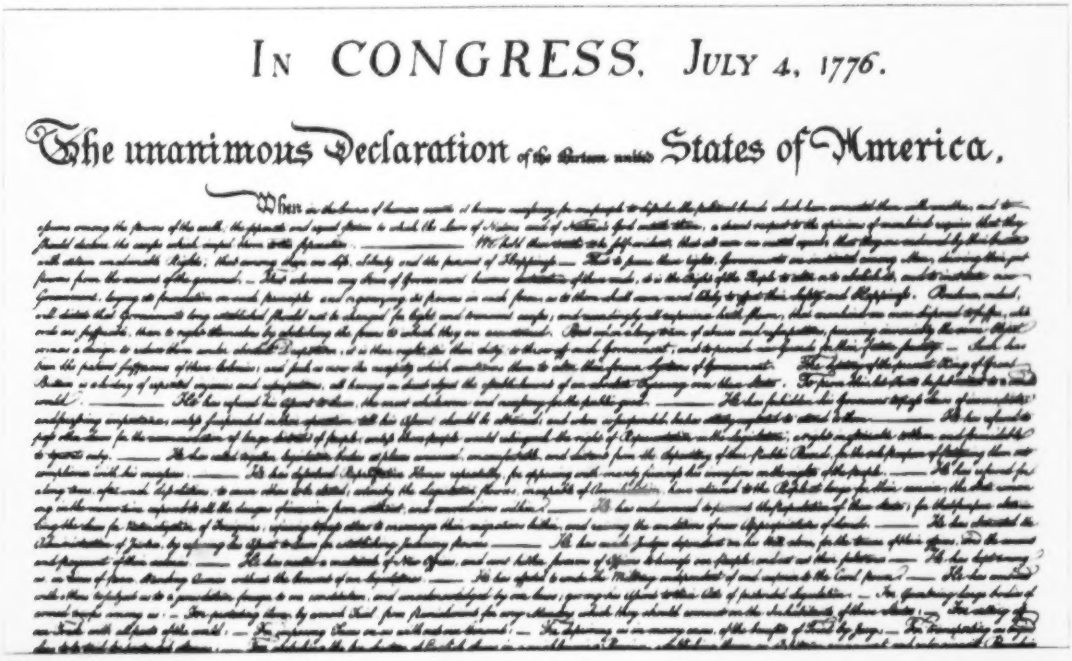
COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD,

BUT IN PARTICULAR, AND VERY EXPRESSLY TO THOSE OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECOND EDITION, WITH CORRECTIONS &c.

BY DAVID WALKER



IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. — He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. — He has called together Legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. — He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. — He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our Legislatures. — He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: — For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. — He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. — He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. — In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. — Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

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Using the Web

The World Wide Web has extraordinary potential as a research tool. However, not everything on the Web contains valid information. As much as students enjoy, or even rely, on the Web, it's important for students to understand how to evaluate a Web site.

The following guidelines, provided by the "Resources for Youth Services" site of the University of Texas library system (http://volvo.gslis.utexas.edu/"kidnet/), will be helpful for students as they surf the Web.

YOUR KNOWLEDGE

- ❑ How does this new information compare to what you already know?
- ❑ How does it change what you know?

AUTHORITY

- ❑ Who is providing the information?
- ❑ Where did their information come from?
- ❑ Do they provide evidence or examples to support their points?

TIME

- ❑ How old is the information?
- ❑ Does the site include recent information?

SCOPE

- ❑ How much information is given?
- ❑ How broad is the topic?
- ❑ How in-depth is the information?

FORM

- ❑ In what package is the information presented?
- ❑ Is it a WWW or gopher document, a text file, a news group posting, or an e-mail message?
- ❑ Is it in text, image, and/or sound form?

CLARITY

- ❑ Is the information clearly presented?
- ❑ Is the information well organized?
- ❑ Is the site user friendly?

VALIDITY

- ❑ How true do you think the information is? What makes you think so?

IMPORTANCE

- ❑ Is this information important? If so, why?

RECOMMENDATIONS

- ❑ Have people whom you respect (friends, teachers, librarians, parents, etc.) recommended this site as a good source of information?

Web sites

These Web sites will help students navigate and evaluate the Web. For a list of Web sites that provide historical background and primary sources, see page 23.

Close Up
http://www.closeup.org
Contains a lesson plan to use with students on "Untangling the Web."

Evaluating Internet Resources: A Checklist for Students
http://www.tiac.net/users/winlib/evalstud.htm
Also offers a checklist for librarians and teachers.

Hoax? Scholarly Research? Personal Opinion? You Decide!
http://www.library.ucla.edu/libraries/college/instruct/hoax/evlinfo.htm
Offers questions about the accuracy, objectivity, and currency of Web sites.

Please Evaluate This Web Site
http://www.lib.calpoly.edu/infocomp/modules/05_evaluate/survey.html
A list of evaluation questions accompanies a sample site.

The inkstand used by John Hancock to sign the Declaration of Independence

General Resources

In addition to the materials recommended for each program unit, the following resources provide additional historical background. See also Eric Foner's resource list on page 29.

Books

FOR TEACHERS

Aptheker, Herbert, ed. *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. Vol. 1. New York: The Citadel Press, 1951. Hundreds of primary source documents from 1661–1910. (Although volume 1 is out of print, it's often found in libraries; subsequent volumes contain primary sources for later years.)

Carnes, Mark C., ed. *Past Imperfect: History According to the Movies*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995. Sixty historians look at how Hollywood has depicted history.

Franklin, John Hope, and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 7th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994. An in-depth history of African Americans.

Fredrickson, George M. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1971. An exploration of the development of notions of race.

Gates, Jr., Henry Louis, and Nellie McKay, eds. *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997. A literary anthology which includes the works of many historical figures.

Ham, Debra, ed. *The African-American Mosaic: A Library of Congress Resource Guide for the Study of Black History and Culture*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1993. A survey of the Library of Congress holdings in the history and culture of black Americans.

Harding, Vincent. *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America*. Rev. ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991. An examination of African Americans from captivity to the Civil War.

Hine, Darlene Clark, Elsa Barkley Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds. *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994. A comprehensive biographical reference book.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. A detailed study of race, class, culture, politics, and identity.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. *Black Odyssey: The African-American Ordeal in Slavery*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990. The black experience from enslavement to emancipation.

Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge, 1995. The tattered history of Irish and African American relations.

Katz, William Loren. *Eyewitness: A Living Documentary of the African American Contribution to American History*. Rev. ed. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. Eyewitness accounts and historical background.

Litwack, Leon. *North of Slavery: The Negro in Free States 1790–1860*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. The issues facing free blacks in the years before the Civil War.

Loewen, James. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. New York: Touchstone, 1995. An exploration of myths and misinformation about American history.

Meltzer, Milton. *Nonfiction for the Classroom: Milton Meltzer on Writing, History, and Social Responsibility*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1994. The importance of critical thinking in reading and writing nonfiction, and in the teaching and learning of history.

Mullane, Deirdre, ed. *Crossing the Danger Water: Three Hundred Years of African American Writing*. New York: Anchor Books, 1993. A literary anthology which provides extensive primary source documents and historical context.

Nash, Gary B. *Race and Revolution*. Madison, WI: Madison House Publishers, 1990. A series of essays on race and abolition in colonial America, with primary sources.

Newman, Richard, and Marcia Sawyer. *Everybody Say Freedom: Everything You Need to Know about African-American History*. New York: Penguin, 1996. Detailed information in a question-and-answer format which also will appeal to students.

Rae, Noel, ed. *Witnessing America: The Library of Congress Firsthand Accounts of Life in America 1600–1900*. New York: The Stonesong Press, 1996. A compilation of diaries, letters, memories, articles, advertisements, etc. from the lives of ordinary men and women.

Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso, 1991. An account of the origins of ideas about race and racism among the working class.

Rose, Willie Lee, ed. *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
Now out of print but available in libraries, this features many primary source documents.

Tise, Larry E. *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987.
A study of the myths and realities of proslavery arguments.

FOR STUDENTS

Hine, Darlene Clark, and Clayborn Carson, consulting eds. *Milestones in Black American History* series. New York: Chelsea House Publishers. Each of the 16 volumes features primary sources and scholarship. Titles include the following:

- *The Birth of Black America*
- *Braving the New World 1619–1784*
- *The Gathering Storm 1787–1829*
- *Days of Sorrow, Years of Glory 1831–1850*
- *Toward the Promised Land 1851–1861*

Hoobler, Dorothy and Thomas. *The African American Family Album*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
A pictorial and written record of the African American experience.

Katz, William Loren. *Breaking the Chains: African American Slave Resistance*. New York: Atheneum, 1990. A history of slave revolt, resistance, and rebellion.

Meltzer, Milton. *The Black Americans: A History in Their Own Words 1619–1983*. Rev. ed. New York: HarperCollins, 1987.
A collection of primary sources with brief introductions.

Meltzer, Milton. *Milestones to American Liberty: The Foundations of the Republic*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965. These important primary source documents helped to shape America.

Myers, Walter Dean. *Now Is Your Time! The African-American Struggle for Freedom*. New York: HarperCollins, 1991. An historical overview for younger readers.

Sullivan, Charles, ed. *Children of Promise: African American Literature and Art for Young People*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991. This anthology includes literature and art of the African American experience.

Young Oxford History of African Americans series. New York: Oxford University Press. This eleven-volume series uses primary sources, stories, and scholarship. Titles include the following:

- *The First Passage: Blacks in the Americas, 1502–1617*
- *Strange New Land: Blacks in Colonial America, 1516–1776*
- *Revolutionary Citizens: African Americans, 1776–1804*
- *Let My People Go: African Americans, 1804–1860*

Web sites

The African-American Mosaic
http://www.lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/african/intro.html
A comprehensive site that highlights the extensive African American collections held by the Library of Congress.

African American Perspectives
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/aap/aaphome.html
Audio clips, samples of text, and historical facts relating to pamphlets written by African American authors between 1818–1907.

Africans in America
http://www.pbs.org/africansinamerica
The companion site to the series, offering hundreds of primary source documents, scholarly essays, and stories from the series.

American Memory
http//rs6.loc.gov/amhome.html
An array of historical collections and primary source and archival history related to American culture and history, from the Library of Congress.

American Slave Narratives
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/wpa/wpahome.html
Narratives of former slaves (documented from 1936–1938) of the 19th century.

Archiving Early America
http://www.earlyamerica.com/
Access material from 18th century America, including original newspapers, maps, and writings, as well as *Early American Review*, a historical journal.

Excerpts from Slave Narratives
http://vi.uh.edu/pages/mintz/primary.htm
Compiled by the University of Houston, this contains over 40 slave narratives from the 17th–20th century.

Historical Text Archive
http://www.msstate.edu/Archives/History/
A list of links from which you can access electronic texts, maps, photos, and documents.

Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture
http://www.nypl.org/research/sc/sc.html
Access primary sources, manuscripts, photographs, music, and other documents about African American history and culture.

The United States Constitution
http://www.usconstitution.net/
This site offers The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and a way to navigate through the U.S. Constitution.

GENERAL RESOURCES *continued*

Films

These films are available from PBS Video, (800)344-3337.

George Washington—The Man Who Wouldn't Be King
A biography of the soldier and president produced by David Sutherland, from *The American Experience*. (Available until December 1998)

Liberty! The American Revolution
A six-part documentary about the country's birth produced by Ellen Houde and Muffie Meyer/Middlemarch.

Thomas Jefferson
A two-part documentary produced by Ken Burns.

Frederick Douglass: When the Lion Wrote History
A biography of the abolitionist, produced by Orlando Bagwell (executive producer of *Africans in America*), from *The American Experience*.

Roots of Resistance — A Story of the Underground Railroad
Told through the narratives of escaped slaves, produced by Orlando Bagwell, from *The American Experience*.

Organizations

The following organizations can provide educational materials, teaching tips, additional resources, and background information.

Educators for Social Responsibility
http://www.esrnational.org
(800) 370-2515
Provides workshops and materials on diversity, conflict resolution, teaching sensitive topics, and other issues.

Facing History and Ourselves
http://www.facing.org
(617) 232-1595
This national educational and professional development organization provides materials for educators on issues such as race, prejudice, and intolerance.

National Civil Rights Museum
http://www.mecca.org/~crights/
(901) 521-9699
Offers curriculum kits and educational materials that explore civil rights history in the United States from the 1600s to today.

National Council for the Social Studies
http://www.ncss.org
(202) 966-7840
Provides leadership, service, and support for all social studies educators.

National Park Service (The Underground Railroad)
http://www.nps.gov/undergroundrr/
(617) 742-5415
Information and activities regarding local history and the Underground Railroad.

National Urban League, Inc.
http://www.nul.org
(212) 558-5300
A social service and civil rights organization which offers program services, advocacy, and community services through its New York headquarters and 114 affiliates in 34 states.

Primary Source, Inc.
http://www.primarysource.org
(617) 923-9933
Offers teacher institutes, workshops, and curriculum development in New England on teaching social studies and using primary sources, as well as a resource library. One of their initiatives is the African American Intellectual History project.

Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture
http://www.nypl.org/research/sc/sc.html
(212) 491-2200
One of the four research divisions of the New York Public Library, their resources include a research library and a museum, as well as a traveling exhibition program.

The Smithsonian Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies
http://www.si.edu/folklife/
(202) 287-3424
The Center produces exhibitions, documentary films and videos, symposia, educational materials and kits.

Teaching Tolerance
http://www.splcenter.org/teachingtolerance.html
(334) 264-0286
Helps educators foster equity, respect, and understanding in the classroom and beyond. Free and low-cost resources include a bi-annual magazine and video-and-text teaching kits exploring themes in U.S. history.

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Series Resources

The symbol used in the series logo, which means courage and perseverance, originated in West Africa.

☛ Visit the **AFRICANS IN AMERICA Web site** (www.pbs.org/africansinamerica) for an extraordinary collection of primary source materials, organized by historical periods and major themes. A detailed series index of key program segments will also be available.

☛ The **Youth Activity Guide**, available free from WGBH (see address below), offers ideas for creating youth history projects in the community.

☛ **SOCIAL EDUCATION**, the monthly magazine of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), features the scholarship and ideas behind the series in its October 1998 issue. If you are not an NCSS member, you can order a copy at (202) 966-7840, ext. 121.

☛ **AFRICANS IN AMERICA, the companion book** by Charles Johnson, Patricia Smith, and the WGBH Series Research Team (Harcourt Brace & Company, 1998), is available at bookstores and libraries.

☛ The **AFRICANS IN AMERICA soundtrack**, produced by singer, composer, and historian Bernice Johnson Reagon, is available on Rykodisc/GBH Records.

☛ The **Youth Initiative** includes eight urban communities where young people are creating their own multimedia history projects that will be used to foster community discussions about race and American identity. Participating sites are: Los Angeles, CA; Chicago, IL; Boston, MA; St. Charles, MO; New York, NY; Philadelphia, PA; Charleston, SC; and Nashville, TN.

☛ **Teacher workshops** will be conducted nationally and locally, including the NCSS annual conference (November 1998) in California and in twelve other states: Alaska, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, and Washington. For more information, contact Rhonda Gray at (617) 492-2777 ext. 3674.

Ordering Information

For additional free copies of this guide, contact:

AFRICANS IN AMERICA
Teacher's Guide
WGBH
Educational Print and Outreach
125 Western Avenue
Boston, MA 02134
Fax: (617) 787-4733
email:
WGBH_Materials_Request@
wgbh.org

To order videotapes for home use, the soundtrack, or the companion book, contact:

WGBH Boston Video
PO Box 2284
South Burlington, VT 05407
(800) 255-9424

To order the AV indexed version of the *Africans in America* series videotapes, contact:

PBS Video
1320 Braddock Place
Alexandria, VA 22314
(800) 344-3337

Coming on PBS in November 1998

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: AMERICA 1900

One hundred years ago, Americans greeted the new century with confidence, optimism, and anxiety. This chronicle examines a pivotal year and the forces of change that have shaped our century.

Teaching materials available in November on *The American Experience* Web site at: www.pbs.org

Slavery and the Origins of the Civil War

Eric Foner

Arguably the finest body of literature produced by American historians since 1960 has been the work reappraising the South's "peculiar institution." But before new views could take hold, the traditional interpretation that had dominated the field until the mid-1950s had to be swept away. Shaped by the assumption that slavery was a civilizing institution made necessary by the racial inferiority of Afro-Americans, previous histories sketched a congenial portrait of plantation life: decent living conditions for all, only the lightest of punishments, and a general system of give-and-take between master and slave. In this view, slavery — usually unprofitable — was maintained for racial and cultural reasons, rather than economic self-interest, and might well have died out peacefully had the Civil War not intervened.

Not until the era of the modern civil rights movement, which profoundly affected the ways historians viewed race relations in the past, did a full-scale refutation of the traditional interpretation appear. This was provided by Kenneth M. Stampp, who perceived that once one abandoned the notion that slaves were an inferior race in need of civilizing influences, the entire edifice of the traditional viewpoint must fall to the ground. Stampp depicted the plantation as an arena of persistent conflict between masters concerned mainly with maximizing their income and slaves in a constant state of semirebellion.

If Stampp cleared away old delusions about slavery, it was Stanley Elkins who drew attention to his generation's major concern—the nature of the slave experience itself. Impressed by studies arguing that other societies that had known slavery, such as Brazil, were marked by significantly less racial prejudice than the United States (an argument subsequently challenged by other scholars), Elkins asserted that bondage in this country had taken a particularly oppressive form, for which the best analogy was the Nazi concentration camp. A more devastating critique of American slavery could hardly be imagined, but Elkins was less concerned with the physical conditions of slave life than with the psychological impact of "total institutions" upon their victims, whether white or black. He concluded that the culture and self-respect of the slave had been stripped away, leaving an "infantilized" personality incapable of rebellion and psychologically dependent upon the master.

More than any other scholar, Elkins redefined the problématique (to borrow a term from the French philosopher Louis Althusser) of historians of slavery: that is, the underlying preoccupations that shape the questions scholars ask. His comparative approach inspired subsequent historians to place the South's peculiar institution within the broad context of the hemisphere as a whole, thus counteracting the insular "American exceptionalism" that underpins so many accounts of this nation's history. At the same time, comparative analysis has underscored the unique qualities of the old South's slave society in which, unlike that of the Caribbean, the white population considerably outnumbered the black. But most strikingly, even though few subsequent writers agreed entirely with his conclusions, Elkins pushed to the forefront the issue of "slave culture," which has dominated scholarship ever since. A generation of historians set out to demonstrate that rather than being transformed into "Sambos" entirely dependent upon their masters, slaves had created a viable, semiautonomous culture among themselves. Scholars delved into sources hitherto largely ignored — slave songs, spirituals, folklore, narratives written by fugitives, the reminiscences of former slaves interviewed during the 1930s by the Works Projects Administration (WPA), marriage registers dating from just after emancipation — to demonstrate that slaves possessed their own values, aspirations, and sense of identity. Their work formed a major component of the broader effort in the 1960s and 1970s to rewrite American history "from the bottom up." The study of slave culture continued to dominate writing on slavery in the 1980s, although Peter Kolchin, in a work comparing American slavery with Russian serfdom, argues that scholars must not lose sight of the authority that planters exercised over every aspect of the slaves' lives, and the obstacles to the creation of real independence within the slave community.

Two institutions of slave life have attracted the most intense scrutiny — the church and the family. The vitality, outlook, and distinctive patterns of worship of slave religion underscore the resiliency of the African inheritance and the degree to which blacks managed to resist the dehumanizing implications of the South's peculiar institution. Blacks rejected the interpretation of Christianity promoted by their masters, which emphasized obedience, humility, and release from suffering in an afterlife rather than in this world. Instead, they came to see themselves as a chosen people akin to the Children of Israel, their bondage and eventual freedom parts of a preordained divine plan. From the Bible they drew favorite images of those

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who had overcome adversity: Daniel escaping the lion's den, David slaying Goliath, and especially Moses leading his people to a promised land of freedom. In religion blacks found a vehicle for surviving their experience of enslavement with their dignity intact, and in the church an arena for developing a leadership independent of white control. Preachers were key organizers of the nineteenth century's major slave conspiracies, those of Gabriel Prosser (1800), Denmark Vesey (1822), and the religious exhorter Nat Turner (1831). Simultaneously, studies of folktales emphasized the slaves' imaginative reversal of everyday power relations. In the Brer Rabbit stories, for example, weaker creatures get the better of the strong by relying upon their wits. In black religion and folkways, scholars have found solid evidence that slaves understood their own exploitation and believed in the inevitability of their release from bondage.

Similarly, studies of the slave family have shown that an institution once thought to have been destroyed by enslavement not only survived but did so with a set of distinctive values, demonstrating again the partial autonomy of the slave community. Herbert G. Gutman, who has produced the most comprehensive investigation of this subject, acknowledges that black family life faced the constant threat of disruption because of the frequent sale of slaves. Yet he also presents convincing evidence that most slaves lived in "traditional" two-parent families, that many slave marriages were of long duration, and that naming patterns revealed an awareness of family ties going back one or two generations. Subsequent scholars have brought the insights of women's history to bear upon the slave family. Investigating the "internal economy" of slave life — how slaves managed their own time when not at work for their masters — they have discovered a sexual division of labor in which women were generally assigned the tasks of child rearing, cooking, and cleaning, while men hunted, fished, and did outdoor chores. Rather than being the "matriarchy" described in much traditional literature, the slave family was as much influenced by tendencies toward male primacy as the white families around it.

Most recently, historians have moved beyond broad generalizations about the South as a whole to explore the regional variations that gave rise to distinctive forms of antebellum slavery. It has long been recognized that slavery in the cities, where many bondsmen worked as skilled artisans and enjoyed considerable independence from white supervision, differed substantially from the institution in the countryside. But only lately have scholars investigated in detail how rural slavery outside the Cotton Kingdom produced distinct ways of organizing labor, affecting the lives of white and black alike. In the sugar and rice regions, where agriculture required enormous capital investment to support elaborate irrigation systems and grinding and threshing machinery, there arose planter elites whose wealth placed them at the apex of antebellum society. And in both, slaves enjoyed a modicum of day-to-day autonomy: those in the rice fields set their own work pace under a system of individual tasks rather than gang labor; on the sugar plantations, as in the West Indies, black families were allotted individual garden plots. In both cases, slaves used their free time to grow and market crops of their own and were able to accumulate personal property, thus developing a far greater familiarity with the marketplace than those in the cotton region could acquire. In the upper South, moreover, a shift from tobacco to wheat production lessened the need for a resident year-round labor force, leading to the manumission of increasing numbers of slaves. In Maryland, for example, half the black population was already free by 1860.

Attention to regional diversity has also enriched our understanding of the South's free black population. Those in the upper South, employed primarily as agricultural workers or unskilled urban laborers and often linked by family ties to persons in bondage, found their lives closely intertwined with the slave community. Far different was the situation in the port cities of the deep South, particularly Charleston and New Orleans, where there arose a prosperous group of light-skinned free persons of color. Occupying a middle ground between slave and free, black and white, they created a flourishing network of schools, churches, and other institutions and had little in common with the slaves around them. But this free elite would come to play a major role in the turbulent politics of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Initially, the new focus on the social and cultural aspects of plantation life was accompanied by a neglect of nonslaveholding whites, the majority of the region's population. To a considerable extent, geographical divisions within the old South paralleled those of class and race, and in the predominantly white upcountry a society developed that was distinct in many respects from that of the Black Belt, where most planters and slaves resided. Only recently have historians begun to illuminate this world. The work of Steven Hahn depicts a largely self-sufficient white yeomanry owning few or no slaves, living on the periphery of the

market economy, and seeking to preserve the autonomy of their small, local communities. Among other things, Hahn's book adds a new dimension to the continuing discussion of the degree of difference and similarity between northern and southern societies. The world of these yeomen differed profoundly from that of the market-oriented farmers of the Middle West, suggesting that commercial values had penetrated antebellum southern society far less fully than the contemporary North.

The view that slavery was the foundation of an economic and social order differing in fundamental aspects from that of the antebellum North can be found in most sophisticated form in the writings of Eugene D. Genovese, his generation's most influential interpreter of the old South. Genovese argued that slavery, although embedded within a capitalist world economy, spawned a unique form of social relations. More than simply an economic investment, it served as the foundation of a distinct way of life, which grew increasingly separate from that of the North as time went on. Slavery gave rise to a hierarchical society based on paternalism, an ideology linking dominant and subordinate classes in a complex pattern of mutual responsibilities and obligations. The slaveholders' outlook differed profoundly from the competitive individualism and acquisitiveness so powerful in the contemporary North. Slaveholders saw themselves as responsible for the well being of an extended "family" of dependents, including not only slaves, but white women and children on the plantations. The work of Elizabeth Fox-Genovese shows that planters' wives accepted and reinforced these paternalist, familial values.

The portrait of the old South as a social and economic backwater reminiscent of the semifeudal European periphery did not, however, win universal assent. An entirely different point of view was adopted by historians who believed that the antebellum South adhered to, rather than diverged from, the main trends of nineteenth-century development. This interpretation was most closely associated with the work of "cliometricians" Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, whose writings embodied two major departures in historical methodology: the computerized analysis of quantitative evidence, and the application of modern neoclassical economic theory to historical problems. The first greatly expanded the possibilities for finding definitive answers to statistical questions (Fogel and Engerman demonstrated, for example, that slavery was a profitable institution, which was not likely to disappear for economic reasons). The second reduced the distinctiveness of the old South to a nonproblem by assuming that slave society functioned according to the same market assumptions as those that prevailed in the North.

Inferring the values and motives of blacks and whites alike from the aggregate economic data, Fogel and Engerman concluded that planters and slaves behaved toward one another in terms of rational calculation: the former concerned primarily with maximizing production, efficiency, and profit; the latter, equally imbued with the capitalist ethic, aspiring to social mobility within the slave system (for example, the ability to rise from field hand to driver). Other historians argued that antebellum North and South shared not only a common value structure but also the common experiences of territorial expansion and (for whites) political democratization. This emphasis on shared values made the Civil War itself rather difficult to explain, but the actual degree of southern distinctiveness remains a point of continuing debate.

No scholar has yet succeeded in synthesizing the new insights into a coherent account of American slavery's historical evolution from the colonial period through the era of "King Cotton." Nonetheless, the cumulative impact of the recent literature has been enormous. For one thing, it leaves little doubt about the centrality of slavery to the course of nineteenth-century American history. Scholars of slavery were among the first to challenge the consensus interpretation of the American experience that dominated writing in the 1950s but which, as its leading practitioner Richard Hofstadter later acknowledged, could hardly encompass the stark reality of the Civil War. It is no longer possible to view the peculiar institution as some kind of aberration, existing outside the mainstream of American development. Rather, slavery was intimately bound up with the settlement of the Western Hemisphere, the economic development of the antebellum nation, and the structure of national politics. And as Lincoln observed in his second inaugural address, everyone who lived through that era understood that slavery was "somehow" the cause of the war.

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Reprinted from Eric Foner, "Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction," in the pamphlet series from the American Historical Association entitled *The New American History*, Revised and Expanded Editions, series ed. Eric Foner (American Historical Association, 1997).

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